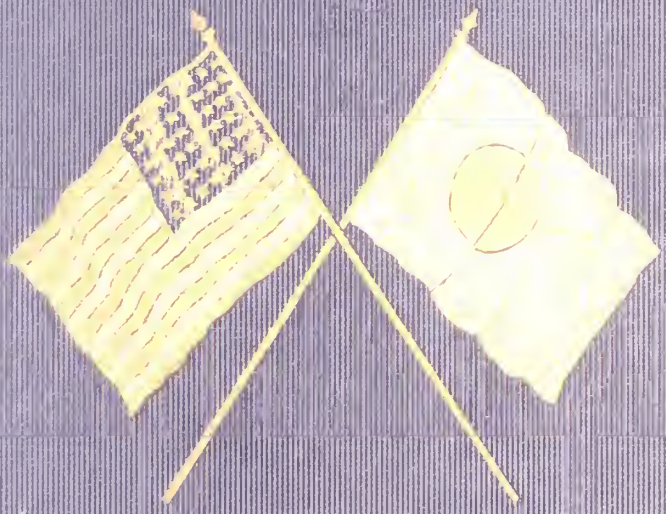
# JAPAN'S REAL ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICA



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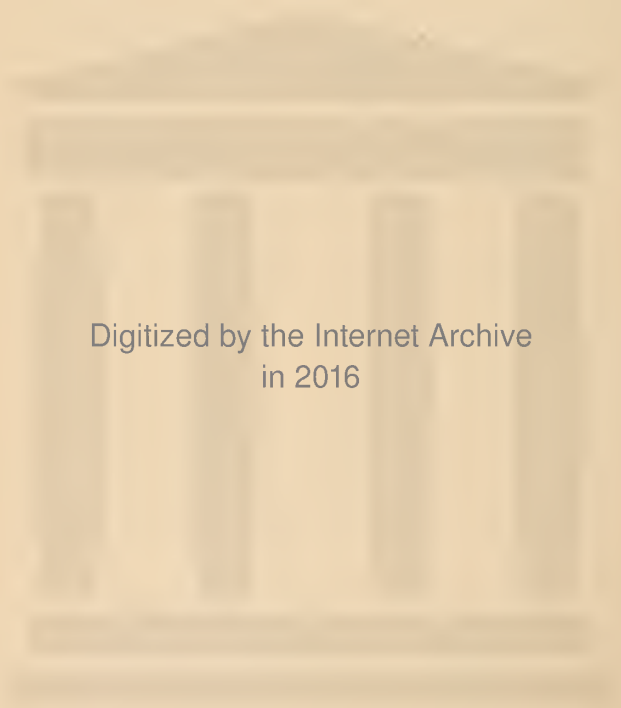

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# Japan's Real Attitude toward America

## A Reply to

## Mr. George Bronson Rea's "Japan's Place in the Sun—the Menace to America"

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# Foreword

THIS booklet is laid before the American public with the view of making clear Japan's attitude toward America. Recently Mr. George Bronson Rea, editor of the *Far Eastern Review*, issued a pamphlet entitled *Japan's Place in the Sun—the Menace to America.* In that pamphlet charges are made that Japan regards the United States as her future enemy; that she is secretly and heavily arming for the contingency; that we on our part are acting as agents to conceal with malicious intent from American eyes actual facts about Japan and thus proving, while loyal to our native country, traitors to the country wherein we now reside. These are grave charges. I abhor controversy with anyone. But when such serious charges are made against us and the pamphlet containing them is distributed, as I understand it, among the members of Congress and other important personages, I owe it to my associates and myself in self-defense and to both countries, whose welfare I have at heart, to present our side of the case.

Mr. Rea asserts his sincerity and patriotism as a

motive of his propaganda. But this assertion is not sustained by what he has done. He has distorted facts, and made false allegations and base insinuations. In quoting the utterances and writings of Japanese statesmen and publicists, Mr. Rea so garbles and mutilates them that they often lose their original significance or convey totally different meanings. If this method were followed, it would not be a difficult task for one to make of St. Paul a rabid jingoist and an unholy man. The industry of Mr. Rea in collecting materials from Japanese sources is not matched by a clear insight into the spirit of Japan. This disparity is indeed so striking that one is led to think that his industry was expended not to get at the spirit of things Japanese but to gather materials in order to enforce his already made-up ideas, to accomplish an ulterior object he has in view. It is evident that Mr. Rea has no knowledge of Japanese language or literature. Otherwise he would have been able to make at once a clean-cut distinction between the real *Bomu Kaigi* and the imaginary *Kokumin Gunji Kio-Kai*, whose confusion in his mind has led him to make the silliest attack upon Japan and ourselves in the whole course of his crusade. No other materials outside those he himself has presented are needed to show the absurdity of his thesis.

However, the loud advertisement that the arguments advanced are based on authoritative Japanese sources, and the apparent richness of these quotations coupled with the fervor of a patriot with which the advocacy is performed, are apt to give a false impression to those not conversant with the Japanese language and affairs or too busy to scrutinize the nature of Mr. Rea's deductions, and thus lend to his pamphlet a weight which is far from its due. Unless disproved I fear no small harm might be done by Mr. Rea's writings to the friendly relations between Japan and America whose continuance is to the true interest of the two countries. I feel, therefore, it is my bounden duty to both countries to which I owe so much to make an intelligent exposition of Japan's positionand her relation with America. It is with this aim that I have compiled the following articles that have mainly appeared already in the American press with a platform address of my own and present them in this convenient form to the public.

In an especial manner, too, it is necessary that the indignant protests of those American friends of Japan whom Mr. Rea has so coarsely and basely assailed should be heard. No implication of disloyalty to one's national flag could fail to stir the feelings of an honest man. That belief in the good faith, pacific intentions and friendly attitude of Japan toward

the United States should submit these gentlemen to insult is deplorable in free America. That the false and unfounded plea of the libeller should be that either they or Japan itself had opposed openly or secretly America's "preparedness" campaign is wholly in line with his reckless recourse to the preposterous.

I express my many thanks to the *N. Y. Tribune*, the *N. Y. Sun*, the *N. Y. Evening Post*, and the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, through whose courtesy the letters addressed to the editors are herein reproduced.

T. I.

New York, March 4, 1916.

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# Japan's Real Attitude toward America

# Japan's Real Attitude Toward America

## WHAT JAPAN OWES TO AMERICA

### Count Okuma

The following is the translation by the special correspondent of the *New York Sun* of a part of Count Okuma's article that was published in the *Shin Nippon*. It reflects correctly the real attitude of the Count toward America, which is so maligned in Mr. Rea's pamphlet. The *New York Sun* published the translation in its issue of February 6, 1916, and through the courtesy of the paper it is reproduced here.

(*Special Correspondence to "The Sun"*)

Tokio, Jan. 4.—Count Okuma's appreciation of America's part in the upbuilding of modern Japan is contained in an article appearing in the *Shin Nippon Magazine*, extracts from which are here given:

"Japan might possibly have been forced to come out of her exclusive policy without waiting for the American Commodore to awaken her. Yet it was

undoubtedly her good fortune to have had as her introducer to the world a country like the United States, known for her traditional policy of moderation, justice, and humanity.

"In 1859, by the second article of the American-Japanese treaty, the President assumed the obligation to strive to bring about an amicable settlement of the disputes that might arise between Japan and other Powers; in other words, to speak for Japan in the diplomatic negotiations with other Powers. It was only with the United States that such a treaty has ever been concluded, though subsequently some amendment was introduced. Again it was under the influence of American spirit that General Grant kindly mediated between China and Japan in 1879. So was it when President Roosevelt successfully endeavored to bring the Russo-Japanese War to a speedy close. Not only that, Japan had her first lessons in diplomacy from the United States of America. The treaties concluded with England, Russia, France, and Holland were all modeled from the aforementioned American-Japanese Treaty of 1859.

### GRATEFUL TO AMERICANS

"We can never be too grateful toward T. Harris, who always assisted Japan with open-hearted friend-

ship in the days of her infancy, while at the same time we can not too strongly condemn the unpardonable blindness of the Japanese to have assassinated the senior minister Ii of the Tokugawa Government for the meaningless charge of sacrificing the national interests to the convenience of the United States. Again, consider what an American minister did when an American translator in her legation service was killed in Akabane, Tokio, by a political fanatic. The representatives of all the other States not directly concerned with the affair withdrew from Tokio to Yokohama in the sense of blaming the Japanese authorities for not affording sufficient protection to foreigners. Instead of following their examples Mr. Harris, the American minister, took a very considerate view of the matter, saying that the matter was of purely private concern, and therefore that the government had nothing to do with it. With admirable indifference and courage he continued to reside in Tokio.

"Other European countries that have sent their missionaries could not at all compare with the United States in number of their agents and grandeur of ideals. Therefore, it is never unjust to say that Japan is indebted to the United States in the highest degree for her progress and advancement in the path of modern civilization.

"When Shimmi Bungonokami went to the United States as the first Japanese envoy, in 1860, for the exchange of treaty ratifications, the American Congress voted for the reception expenses of $50,000 to welcome the envoy and his suite, who were overwhelmed by the warmth of friendship and the manner of reception. Each State, hearing the news of their arrival, also invited them as their public guests. To them the trip was an endless chain of surprises. Telegraphs, railways, factories, schools, printing offices, newspapers, and everything else dazzled their imaginations and so impressively wrought upon their spirit that after they came home they took the initiative to introduce American civilization in Japan.

"An act of friendship on the part of the United States which left an indelible impression in the memory of our countrymen was shown in connection with the indemnity ($3,000,000) Japan was forced to pay for the reckless bombardment of American, British, French, and Dutch warships, an act that was committed by the pro-exclusion faction of the Choshu clan. The amount of $750,000 due to the United States did not much please her Congress, who condemned it as an unjust booty not susceptible of honorable acceptance. The sum, after remaining adrift for some time owing to the absence of re-

cipients, was finally placed in deposit with a certain bank in New York. In 1883, it was returned to the Japanese Government with $30,000 added as interest. Such a noble act can in fact be expected only from a country with American standards of international morality. It shows what a lofty ideal of justice and friendship Americans cherish among themselves.

"The act subsequently gave rise to a discussion among the Japanese Government officials as to the proper way of disposing of the amount so generously given back. My own proposal was fortunately approved and accepted, and it was applied to the improvement of the Yokohama harbor works, which therefore should be considered as an everlasting souvenir of the American friendship.

### INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

"When we review our modern history we find Japan on the verge of ruin toward the end of the Tokugawa dynasty, absolutely defenseless and exposed to the hazards of falling prey to the territorial ambition of the great Powers of Europe. The greatness of the late Emperor, the timely awakening and profound consciousness of the nation, the advantage of geographical position, the favorable turn of sur-

rounding circumstances and others have done a great deal toward bringing about the present prosperity of this country. Even then, had it not been for the disinterested friendship and friendly assistance of the grand republic in the early days of Meiji, what more embarrassing situations and perhaps insurmountable difficulties might not have checked the progress of the national prosperity!

"We shall be most deservedly stigmatized as ungrateful people should we let these memorable circumstances slip out of our grateful memory. Not only should we not forget it but we must endeavor to behave unto others just as the United States behaved towards us. We should do well to sympathize with the honest endeavors of the weaker nations now struggling to rise in the world of international politics and for this purpose spare no efforts in urging the other great Powers to follow the noble example set by the United States in her policy toward Japan of half a century ago."

# AMERICA AND JAPAN

T. Iyenaga

The following address has been delivered within the past few months before various American audiences, and reported in full or in part in the columns of some of the leading papers of New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other places. As the speech dwells upon some of the vital questions involved in the Japanese-American relations, and supplements what I have written in the succeeding article, it is inserted here with the hope of appealing to a wider public and making clear what I regard as Japan's position and attitude toward America. This survey of the American-Japanese relations constitutes in effect my reply to Mr. Rea's pamphlet, and serves the purpose the better, for the address being a straight-forward appeal to disinterested audiences is entirely free from the unpleasantness that usually attends controversial discussion.

I shall endeavor here to discuss what I consider to be the most important questions that lie in the way of Japanese-American intercourse. In doing so, I beg you to grant me the privilege of being perfectly frank and outspoken. Mutual understanding of one another's position and views gained by frank

and free discussion is, I believe, the proper and surest way to find a happy solution of the questions whose existence hampers the smooth working of international relations.

Let us first survey the past.

## OPENING OF JAPAN AND THE AMERICAN POLICY

In the history of international relations no record is so unique as that of the intercourse between Japan and the United States during the first five decades of its existence—so romantic in its inception, so pervaded throughout by mutual good will, and so fruitful of untold benefits to mankind at large. Strikingly dramatic is the scene that introduces the first chapter of that intercourse. To the nation still enjoying a torpor of centuries and only equipped with bows and arrows, swords and spears, Commodore Perry suddenly makes his advent in 1853 into the Bay of Yedo with the stately fleet of eight ships, armed with 230 cannon. And, contrary to the world's expectation, the adroit sailor-diplomat succeeds in forcing open the door of the nation that had for ages been hermetically closed against aliens, without a shot being fired, a man wounded, or a junk sunk. For his was truly a peaceful mission. Behind that outward display of force, under that glittering

uniform of the commodore, there was hidden the spirit of American friendship toward Japan which he had been commissioned to disclose. That Japan soon discovered it and remembers it with gratitude is evinced by the monument which now stands on the very spot of Perry's first landing, and which, backed by the everlasting green hills of the Mikado's land, overlooks the blue waters of the Pacific that binds in common embrace the two great nations on its opposite shores.

Genuine Americanism found its finest expression in Perry's successor, Townsend Harris. With the simplicity, honesty, and frankness worthy of a true American, and with consummate tact and infinite patience, Harris overcame the innumerable obstacles, which ignorance, suspicion, and prejudice, put in his way, and finally signalized his triumph by becoming the confidant and adviser of the Shogun's Government. The American policy of justice, fair dealing, and friendliness, thus inaugurated, was consistently pursued by all the succeeding administrations, and put into practice by able envoys who represented the President of the United States at the court of the Mikado—Pruyn and Bingham, Buck and O'Brien, Griscom and Anderson, and the present envoy, Mr. Guthrie.

The refunding of the Shimonoseki indemnity in

1883, the willing heart proffered for the revision of old treaties which denied to Japan the exercise of judicial and tariff autonomy, the good office rendered to bring about the peaceful settlement of the Russo-Japanese War, the commercial treaty negotiated under the Taft Administration that facilitated the successful conclusion of new treaties with other Powers—these are a few instances, the prominent posts on the road of Japanese-American intercourse, that will recall to us hundreds of other instances, wherein we have witnessed the realization of what General Grant said: "Whatever America's influence may be, I am proud to think that it has always been exerted in behalf of justice and kindness."

### GOOD SERVICES OF PRIVATE AMERICANS

If the American Government has exerted its influence in this manner, no less generous and striking have been the services rendered by private Americans for the good of Japan. Long indeed is the list of American names which add luster to the pages of modern Japan. America has sent hundreds of educators and missionaries to teach Japan in lessons of science, law, and religion. And how greatly is Japan indebted to many presidents and professors of American colleges who have educated, nay, bestowed

fatherly care upon tens of thousands of Japanese youths and sent them home with their benedictions! It is no exaggeration to say that for the past few decades it would have been difficult to find one college or university of reputation in America which had not enrolled among its students one or two Japanese boys. And in each of these youths there remain some tokens of love and kindness received during college days which will be treasured within their hearts until they cease to beat.

### JAPAN IS GRATEFUL TO AMERICA

On the part of Japan I am also proud to think that she has never been slow to show her appreciation of the friendship of America. After enumerating the debts which Japan owes to America, Count Okuma says: "We shall be most deservedly stigmatized as ungrateful people should we let these memorable circumstances slip out of our grateful memory." Indeed, the sentiment of gratitude toward America pervaded the entire nation. To be an American was, and is, therefore, the surest badge to command the respect and love of the Japanese people. No record of international relations, let me repeat once more, is then more beautiful and ennobling than that which has blessed the American-Japanese

intercourse during the past half century—justice, moderation, magnanimity on one side, and gratitude and appreciation on the other.

### YELLOW JOURNALISM AND HOBSONS

The dawn of the twentieth century brought, however, a sudden turn to this happy history. The attitude of America toward Japan, upon whom the former uniformly in the past looked with endearing patronage as a godfather would his foster-child, suddenly changed to the attitude of a rival, swayed now and then by the fear of finding in her a future enemy. This change was due partly to natural causes but mostly to the work of mischief-makers. Let us consider how this change was brought about.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the baby nation Perry had introduced into the family of nations had by dint of energy and perseverance reconstructed its whole scheme of life—political, economic, social—and brought it to the standard of the West. In a word, Japan had attained her maturity, equipped with every qualification that entitled her to rank among the first-rate Powers. This enviable position, however, could hardly be won by the pure logic of peaceful progress achieved during the past. What really enhanced Japan's standing

in the estimation of the militant West was the military prestige she gained by waging successfully two wars against her two great neighbors. The pigmy of yesterday was thus suddenly transformed, as mirrored in the eyes of the military nations of the West, into a giant of to-day, and out of their frenzied imaginations there sprang up a strange monster, called "Yellow Peril," endowed with magic power to carry fire and destruction into the heart of Christendom. It is indeed a strange coincidence that the royal painter who drew for the first time a picture of a "yellow peril" for the edification of the Russian monarch, is the same ruler who is now deluging Europe with blood. Stranger still is the fact that the world has not yet seen any "yellow peril" materialize except in yellow journalism!

To add to the confounding of the Occident, the winner of the battle of Mukden displayed not only skill in wielding weapons of warfare, but also an ability to develop commerce and industry, until Japan came to play the rôle of a competitor in the commercial field, especially in the market of China. That this was not to the liking of those who had mapped out as their own sphere that most alluring field of all in the realm of trade needs no emphasis. In this way the child, who but yesterday was praised to the skies for its precocity, came to be looked upon

by some Americans as the prime factor in raising the "yellow peril," both military and economic. The nightmare thus created by the fertile brain of the Kaiser for the purpose of furthering his pet political scheme in Europe, was driven with the winds across the Atlantic and came to find its lodging even in the hearts of Yankees. The fear and dislike of Japan thus engendered among certain sections of the American community afforded capital materials for yellow journals to work with. Would that those papers had overlooked them! But alas! with the adroitness born with such geniuses they eagerly seized upon the opportunities, and enlisted them for use either in playing their own game of politics or in promoting their special interests. If a "war scare" was needed for the passing through the American Congress of army and navy bills, Japan was every time utilized for the purpose. For the last ten years or so Japan has thus enjoyed the unique privilege of monopolizing the unenviable position of being an instrument of "war-scare" manufacturers. It is only quite recently that Germany has come to Japan's rescue to share that honorable position! Indeed, to further its designs, yellow journalism has not hesitated to use every wit and talent at its command for slandering and misrepresenting Japan before the American public.

Think of the Turtle Bay story, the Magdalena Bay story, the story of Japanese-Mexican alliance, the story of Japan's designs on the Philippines and on China. These stories are white lies, shamelessly fabricated and sent out broadcast throughout the country to mislead and deceive the innocent and the credulous among the American people.

Yellow journalism and Hobsons could not, however, have succeeded in making an impression upon the American public had there been no vital questions arising between America and Japan that invited the serious attention of the American people. What, then, are these questions? They are, first, the Japanese-California Question; second, the Monroe Doctrine and Japan; third, the policy of America and Japan toward China. Let us consider them in order.

## JAPANESE–CALIFORNIA CONTROVERSY

The story of the Japanese-California controversy is simple enough to tell. In 1884 the Chinese Exclusion Bill was enacted. As a result a large number of Japanese laborers were invited by California landlords and Western railroad companies to come to America and work in place of Chinese laborers as farmhands and section-men. Thus encouraged

the number of Japanese immigrants increased year by year, until it grew to such an alarming proportion as to arouse strong antagonism of the labor and trade unions on the Pacific Coast. This forced the Washington Government to enter into the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" with the Tokio Government which agreed to voluntarily prohibit further importation into America of Japanese laborers. The discovery by the Japanese Government of its blunder in not restricting the overflow of Japanese laborers into this country, however, came too late. A great number of Japanese immigrants had already come and settled thickly in certain spots of California. And the friction between Japanese and white laborers and farmers increased yearly, until it culminated in the enactment of the Anti-Alien Land Law of three years ago.

In discussing the Japanese-California question a clear distinction must, therefore, be made between the immigration question and the controversy over the Anti-Alien Land Act. The former—Immigration Question—has already been settled by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" which is kept by the Japanese Government with utmost faith, in fact, so rigorously that no Japanese student without means can any longer come here for education. What is really at issue is the fair and just treatment of Japanese resi-

dents who have come here in obedience to and under protection of the Treaty entered into between Japan and America. What Japan says to America is, then, this:

"Frankly, we are not pleased with the exclusion policy you pursue against us. But sound philosophy imposes upon us patience and long-suffering to see the dawn of the Kingdom of Heaven upon this earth, when all men shall shake hands as brothers. When race, economic conditions, and civilization are so different between your people and ours it is the part of wisdom not to force upon them their intermingling. We do not, therefore, want to let loose hordes of our uncultured laborers upon your fat lands. Their friction with American laborers would prove greatly prejudicial to our larger interests. That is the reason why we have acquiesced in the Gentlemen's Agreement. What we cannot but object to, however, is the clean-cut discrimination you have made against our people as is evidenced in the California Land Law. We consider this as in violation of the treaty existing between us. We feel strongly that the principles of justice, fair dealing, and humanity upon which Washington founded and Lincoln reconstructed this great Republic, should impel you to render justice to one to whom it is due."

Japan's position seems to me, therefore, very fair and unassailable. As a matter of fact, the Federal government at Washington held at first the same view, as is clearly demonstrated by the history of its procedure toward the California Legislature. Once the Land Law was enacted, however, the peculiar Constitution of the United States, especially as interpreted by the ruling party of the present day, makes the Washington government almost impotent to mend the matter. Such being the case, it would be foolish to imagine that the Japanese-California controversy would develop into anything more serious than diplomatic wrangling. But so long as this question remains unsettled it will act as a thorn in the smooth working of Japanese-American relations.

Mr. Tokutomi, editor of the *Kokumin Shimbun*, expresses most frankly this viewpoint:

> We doubt whether relations with America can be improved by the present methods of shaking hands and exchanging cordial compliments. In answer to Japan's complaints against injustice to her nationals, America merely sends over messengers to tell the Japanese how much America loves them, a policy which is evidently futile. The friendship of the two nations cannot be preserved for any length of time on a basis of discrimination. If America really cares for friendship with the Japanese he should accord them equal treatmen t with Europeans.

So long as Japanese are subjected to discriminatory treatment in any part of the United States, there is no hope of any permanent friendship between the two nations.

Sooner or later, I confidently believe, justice will be rendered to Japan. When and in what way shall it be done?—this is for you to say. If there is a will there is certainly a way. I may be permitted to add that it does not seem a wise statesmanship which only fears some trouble with another country and strenuously prepares for such an evil day, instead of zealously applying itself to root out the causes of the trouble. The trouble with Japan is none other but of your own making; your fears of Japan are none other than the products of your own imagination.

### THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND JAPAN

But some say Japan pays scant respect to the Monroe Doctrine and might even dare to assail it. I believe not. I can see no reason why Japan should be slow in paying respect to the well-established American doctrine. Japan has no political interest or ambition in South America. She only wants her people to go there for trade and in pursuit of other industries. And the Monroe Doctrine has nothing to do with the question of emigration,

which is, of course, the domestic matter of each sovereign state of South America. What conflicting interests are there, then, that Japan should object to the Monroe Doctrine, provided its sway is limited to the Western Hemisphere?

## DEFINITE FORMULATION OF AMERICAN FAR EASTERN POLICY NEEDED

In the relations between America and Japan there is, to my mind, no matter of greater importance than the clear understanding of the policy each will pursue toward China. For in the future of China are involved Japan's most vital interests, and any misunderstanding concerning her Chinese policy that might creep in among the American people would be fraught with serious consequences. What we, your neighbors, sincerely want to see, therefore, is the definite formulation of the American Far Eastern policy, upon which all concerned may depend and feel safe. I am constrained to confess my inability to understand what part the American people have made up their minds to play on the Far Eastern stage. For there are inconsistencies and discrepancies in the American policy toward the Far East which impartial observers cannot fail to discern. While America is loudly crying for "open door" in

China, she herself is shutting tight her own door against Asiatics. While America is insisting upon other Powers' fulfillment of treaty obligations and carrying into practice the principles of justice and humanity, she herself is rather slow to render justice to Japan which had been infringed by the California episode of three years ago. While America has proclaimed to the world the doctrine of "hands off" and non-interference in affairs of the Western Hemisphere, she herself had been participating, until President Wilson reversed the policy, in Chinese affairs which had a political bearing and significance. You cannot, then, blame Japan for her solicitude to see a definite formulation of the American policy toward the Far East.

### JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD CHINA

It is at the same time incumbent on the part of Japan to make clear to the American people her Chinese policy. Of late much has been talked about Japan's foul designs on China. Let us consider what would be her fundamental policy toward China as it is dictated by her best interests. It should be and is no other than to cement the bond of amity and friendship between the two nations and to safeguard thereby their common interests. The well-known policy of maintaining China's integrity and

independence and the "open door" remains to-day, of course, the same as it was during the days of John Hay and Jutaro Komura. Japan's Chinese policy, therefore, does not in the least run counter to that of America. True, this policy does not spring from pure altruism on the part of Japan, but from her enlightened self-interest. For it should be apparent even to outsiders that European encroachment upon China would prove extremely prejudicial to Japan's interests, bringing European politics to her very threshold and even endangering her national existence, while the closing of China's door would spell disaster to Japanese commerce and enterprise, which have no better prospect of future development elsewhere than in China. It is, therefore, easy to see that to win China's friendship and to stand together as fast friends in the unfolding of their common destiny must surely have been the corner-stone of Japan's policy toward China. Unfortunately the course each followed ran in an opposite direction. Against the progressive policy of Japan there stood long the Great Wall of self-conceit, bigotry, and prejudice of the mandarins. They remained obdurate to the influence of Western civilization until they saw their capital looted and sacked twice within half a century and their empire shaken to its very foundation.

Had China followed at the time she first met the West the same course and policy as Japan, that is to say, to win her place among nations by her own effort instead of depending for her security upon her size and traditions, or upon the grace of other Powers, then the Far Eastern history of the last few decades would have been a totally different one. "The ultimate aim of our China policy," says Count Okuma, "has been no other than to awaken her from this morbid torpor in order to insure her future prosperity and avoid conflict with European nations." Over and over Japan's friendly warning to China has been given; time and again it has been left unheeded. Nay, even the grave disasters that repeatedly overtook China have not succeeded in awakening her from lethargy. The sad and humiliating spectacles that meet one at every turn in China, at the Legation Quarter of Peking where foreign troops are quartered, making the independence of China a sham, at the foreign settlements of Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, wherein China's sovereignty is overridden, and are established "republics within the Republic"—*imperium in imperio*—these also have failed to make China bestir herself.

Under the circumstances the utmost Japan could do was to adopt every legitimate means to safeguard her interests and to prevent and forestall European

aggression upon her neighbor. This is the meaning of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This is the meaning of the Russo-Japanese War. This is the meaning of the capture of Kiaochou and Japan's attempt to drive out of the East its most disturbing factor. This is the meaning of the recent Sino-Japanese Treaty. Had America been placed in the position of Japan, I dare say that she would have pursued the same course as Japan did.

### JAPAN'S FRIENDLY PROFFERS TO CHINA

But the critics cry out: What about Group V. of the recent negotiations, of those demands intended to make China virtually a Japanese protectorate? Are they not an infringement upon China's sovereignty? Certainly not. They were not demands upon China, but simply expressed the wishes of Japan. They were friendly proffers, and certainly Japan is entitled to offer to China friendly suggestions for her betterment. Their acceptance by China, however, must altogether depend upon the value she places on Japan's friendship and ability. It is to be sincerely regretted that Japan failed to impress upon China her ability and sincerity to work good for China.

Once China sees the point, I can see no reason

why she should be slow to accept some of Japan's proposals. I can see no force in the contention that the request to employ Japanese political, military, and financial advisers is an assertion by Japan of her political paramountcy over China. Does not China employ many foreign advisers—political, financial, and military? Is not Peking populated by scores of such titular foreign advisers—European and American? Out of 3938 foreign employees in China there are at present 245 Japanese, while the remainder is made up of 1105 English, 1003 French, 533 Germans, 463 Russians, 174 Americans and others. Nor is there any reason why China should not heed the advice of her friend, which aims at efficiency and uniformity of arms and ammunitions. The present war has conclusively demonstrated that munitions are the most important factor in the success of modern warfare. If China is courageous enough to acknowledge her awful deficiency in this respect, and wise enough to take steps to mend the matter, why should she refuse the proposal of Japan? Still less is it easy to comprehend why Japan is not entitled to enjoy in China the same privilege of religious propagandism and of holding land and property for the purpose of education and charity which the Western nations have been enjoying for decades. Christian nations have forced upon China,

at the cannon's mouth, the freedom of religious faith and propagandism. With what justice shall these nations condemn Japan when she advocates the same freedom in the Far East?

In short, to cement the bond of amity and friendship with China and work out together their own destinies in the Far East is, then, the fundamental China policy of Japan. For upon their coöperation, not enmity, depends the healthy political development of the Far East. And at the same time, cooperation and not antagonism, I believe, should be the watchword to guide the course of America and Japan in the Far East. In saying this I am sure that I shall have the approval and indorsement of the vast majority of the American people.

### SOLID GROUNDS FOR AMERICAN–JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP

To sum up: The Japanese-California question is no cause for war. The Monroe Doctrine acts only as a brake to prevent a clash of interests, not to bring it about. The Pacific is broad enough to accommodate without jostling all the navies and merchant fleets of both nations on its opposite shores. The course of America and Japan in China runs on parallel not conflicting lines, with only this difference, that Japan has most vital political interests in China while

America has not, and Japan realizes better than America the danger involved in China's weakness, and is, therefore, zealously eager for her regeneration. What causes are there, then, that would warrant the heinous outcry of yellow journals and jingoists that "war is inevitable between America and Japan"? None whatever. On the contrary, solid and permanent interests of both countries call loudly for the continuance of their traditional friendship. To Japan, war with America would be suicidal. The country that imports most from Japan is the United States of America. Were she to stop buying Japan's stable products—silk, tea, and art objects—Japan's economic life would be immediately paralyzed. Nevertheless Japan's friendship toward America does not come—God forbid!—from these sordid motives, but from her love of American ideals. Nor does Japan's respect for America spring from the array of hundreds of dreadnoughts, millions of soldiers, and mountains of gold and treasure that America has or can provide. Japan's sincere admiration and regard for America has its fountain in its deep conviction that America's greatness rests upon her sense of justice, fairness, and humanity.

# WEAK POINTS IN MR. REA'S ARMOR AND METHOD

T. Iyenaga

Mr. Rea discusses in his pamphlet many topics and makes many sweeping assertions. Refutation of some of these contentions is found in the articles that follow. Here are pointed out the principal absurdities and weaknesses in the Shanghai editor's armor and method of assault.

I. *The "Bomu Kaigi" and Mr. Rea's imputations.*

In the whole series of attacks Mr. Rea has launched upon Japan and ourselves, the silliest is what he has written on the *Bomu Kaigi* (Imperial Defense Commission), and the inference he has drawn therefrom. He confounds it with the imaginary *Kokumin Gunji Kio-Kai* (National Military Association), which the writer of *A Dream Story of War between America and Japan* fabricated and advertised to be the author of the book in order to secure a greater sale. The Foreign Office of Tokio, instructing the Consul-general at New York, Mr. T. Nakamura, made a

categorical denial of the existence at that time of the assumed *Kokumin Gunji Kio-Kai.* The *Bomu Kaigi* (Imperial Defense Commission) and the faked *Kokumin Gunji Kio-Kai* (National Military Association) are, however, two entirely different things; one actually exists, while the other is a pure fabrication. Unable to make a clear distinction between the two terms—the *Bomu Kaigi* and the *Kokumin Gunji Kio-Kai*—Mr. Rea accuses us that we are making an effort to conceal the existence of the Imperial Defense Commission, which is tantamount to saying that we are either liars or impostors. One would find it difficult to find another instance of such a ridiculous performance as this, especially of one who masquerades before the world as an authority on the Far East.

Would that Mr. Rea had learned the Japanese language, or provided for himself a competent Japanese tutor! He would, then, never have fallen into a pit of shame, wherefrom nothing but manly confession of one's ignorance can rescue him. In Japan even a child attending common school knows the distinction between the two names above referred to. The existence of *Bomu Kaigi* is a matter of common knowledge in Japan as that of the Department for Foreign Affairs. The Commission is part and parcel of the Japanese Government, as the Naval

General Board or General Staff is of the American Government. The organization of the Imperial Defense Commission was promulgated on June 23, 1914, and duly recorded in the Official Gazette. No chancellery, no State Department, no well-informed person in Europe or America remains ignorant of the existence of the *Bomu Kaigi.* One must indeed be a fool or an inmate of an insane asylum who attempts to conceal the existence of such a well-known body.

After triumphantly exposing, so it seems to him, the organization of the Imperial Defense Commission, Mr. Rea goes on to dovetail its creation with the crisis which in his view was at that time impending in the relations between the United States and Japan owing to the California-Japanese controversy. For his enlightenment let me briefly sketch the history that led to the creation of the *Bomu Kaigi.*

In the political history of Japan since the Russo-Japanese War, there had been no other question that contributed more to its stormy life than the question of the increase of Japan's military forces. For this question was constantly used as a tool to gain political mastery by two opposing political factions, which were backed by army and navy leaders. The army authorities and their partisans were ever on the alert to insist on an increase of two

army divisions to be stationed in Korea. The storm at last broke out in 1912 when under the second Saionji Cabinet the War Office made a determined effort to have the programme of the increase of two divisions included in the budget of 1913. The Premier rejected the proposal on financial grounds. The upshot of the deadlock thus occasioned was the resignation of the minister of war, which was soon followed by the resignation of the Saionji Cabinet. The political commotion started by the question of army increase continued in one form or another until two more succeeding cabinets fell in the course of a year or so, and the Okuma Cabinet was formed in April, 1914. Before its formation, while Prince Katsura was heading the third Katsura Cabinet, that clever statesman tried to ward off the danger involved in the question of army increase by advocating the establishment of a *Kokubo Kaigi* (Imperial Defense Commission), but his cabinet had such a short lease of life that the plan was not put through. The Imperial Defense Commission under the title *Bomu Kaigi* was at last created in June, 1914, under the Okuma Cabinet, with the Prime Minister (its ex-officio president) and the Foreign, Finance, War, and Navy ministers, Chief of General Staff and Chief of the Naval Command, as its members. The creation of the commission, it will thus be seen, was due to

an effort to harmonize the army and navy authorities and their partisans and to keep the question of national defense in the hands of ministers of state and military experts and prevent it from being made a pawn in the game of domestic politics. It had nothing to do with the Japanese-American relation. Mr. Rea has built his castle upon sand, upon half-baked knowledge or wilful misinterpretation.

## II. *Mr. Rea's quotations and their import.*

In quoting the utterances or writings of Japanese statesmen and publicists Mr. Rea has so garbled and mutilated them that they have often lost their original significance or even convey different meanings. He has thus exposed himself to a charge that he is not seeking the truth but has some ulterior object to accomplish. A few illustrations will suffice to prove my point. Let my readers compare what Mr. Rea has quoted and the original texts, and they will be competent judges of the significance of the difference existing between the two.

In opening his tirade, Mr. Rea quotes from Count Okuma, Japan's present Premier, and makes it in fact the fundamental text of his whole preaching. These two texts speak for themselves:

*Mr. Rea's Quotation*

"To know one's enemy and to know one's self is a strategical maxim that should always be acted upon."

Instead of quoting further from Count Okuma, Mr. Rea then quotes from the Japan magazine, which commenting editorially *on a statement made by Count Okuma on a different occasion* said: "Evidently the premier regards the enemy as somewhere located in the West; for he says that the apparent enmity between East and West has its roots in the arrogant conviction of Western nations that Asiatics are inferior and to be made the easy victim of Western aggression."

*The Original*

"To know one's enemy and to know one's self is a strategical maxim that should always be acted upon. . . . *Japan has no real enemy in the West.* Her nearest possible enemies are those Oriental nations who retard the march of modern progress and invite Western aggression. For this reason the greatest danger lies at Japan's door in China."

There is no ambiguity about the utterance of Count Okuma. It is simply preposterous to quote a part of his speech and, then, quoting another's writing, go persuading others that what the Count had in mind as "enemy" is the United States.

In the same chapter he quotes me in the following fashion:

*What Mr. Rea quotes:*

"Unless America comes to an understanding of the

*What the N. Y. "Tribune" reported:*

"Unless America comes to an understanding of the

Japanese viewpoint, I indulge in the prediction that there will be more serious disturbances in the relations between Japan and America than has been caused by the California affair."

To my utterance is thus given an impression of a threatening tone.

Japanese viewpoint, I indulge in the prediction that there will be more serious disturbances in the relations between Japan and America than has been caused by the California affair. We are going to remain the firm and best friends of China. Our aim is to help China develop. . . . Help us to solve the question of what our best policy in the East is." (*N. Y. "Tribune,"* May 20, 1914.)

In trying to persuade his readers how in his view Japan is determined to attack the United States, Mr. Rea takes the text from Count Okuma's writing in the *Shin Nippon* and clips and alters the quotation to suit his purpose. Here are the two texts:

*What Mr. Rea quotes:*

"We must at all costs fight against the Kaiser's spirit of conquest until we have crushed it. But when this spirit of conquest is crushed, the German people will not be crushed with it. They will only free themselves from the

*The original*

"Although we hold Germany as our enemy, yet we do not forget the part played by Germany. Scholarship knows no boundary line, no racial distinction. Truth exists in the universe and no one nation is allowed to monopolize it.

wrong leaders, or be governed by those who have mended their ways. *Our attitude toward the American people will be the same. We shall attack any mistaken ideas or policies without mercy.*"

The italics are Mr. Rea's.

In future, as in the past, we will continue to pay our respect to German knowledge and scientfic genius. But we must at all costs fight against the Kaiser's spirit of conquest until we shall have crushed it. But when this spirit of conquest is crushed, the German people will not be crushed with it. They will only free themselves from the wrong leaders or be governed by those who have mended their ways.

"Our attitude towards the American people will be the same. We shall attack any mistaken ideas or policies without mercy. We do not, of course, hate the individuals. The time now has come when humanity should awaken. The present war has brought about the opportunity. We should free ourselves from the mistaken racial conceptions arising from prejudice."

Can any sane American have any objection to these noble and fearless utterances of Japan's "Grand

Old Man"? Are not some Americans attacking without mercy what they consider to be mistaken ideas and policies of Japan? Shall we be denied the same privilege? No one but he who is blinded by his own obsessions would dare to belittle American intelligence by persuading the American public to read between the lines italicized by Mr. Rea any intention of Japan to make a physical attack upon America.

Mr. Rea's exposition of "Nippon Ueber Alles" has received sufficient treatment in the articles that follow. What is most extraordinary is the fact that in propounding this topic Mr. Rea omits three words of importance in the quotation he has given from the writings of Mr. I. Tokutomi, Editor-in-chief of the *Kokumin Shimbun*, and gives it a different significance. Here they are:

| *What Mr. Rea has quoted to prove "Nippon Ueber Alles."* | *What Mr. Tokutomi wrote:* |
|---|---|
| "After all, the average Japanese transcends every other people in respect of ability and talent." | "After all, the average Japanese transcends every other people *of decadent nations* in respect of ability and talent." (The italics are mine.) |

The text which Mr. Rea has chosen for the purpose of warning Americans against the "menace"

from Japan on their Monroe Doctrine is from the pen of Mr. Kayahara Kazan. I have no sympathy whatever with the rabid views of this jingoist writer. However, to illustrate how Mr. Rea utilizes others' writings, it might be interesting to compare the following two texts:

*What Mr. Rea quotes:*

"The population of Japan has now reached the explosive point, and Japan must adopt, by all means, some method to decrease it; now that we are at the parting of the ways, is our Foreign Office right in keeping silent? We want to emigrate to South and North America and the British colonies, first by peaceful means, if possible, and second by force of the iron hand and mailed fist, if our desire is resisted. The U. S. is a nation anxious for peace at any price. She is a woman's country, and women love peace."

(Here ends Mr. Rea's quotation.)

*What Mr. Kazan writes:*

"The increase of population in this country has reached the breaking point, and now that we stand at the parting of the ways is our Foreign Office right in keeping silent? . . . We want to emigrate to South and North America and the British colonies, first by peaceful means, if possible, and second by force of the iron hand and mailed fist, if our desire is resisted. . . . We do not desire to make conquests in those countries of South America. Then there is talk of war between America and Japan, but the U. S. of America is a nation anxious for peace at any price. She is a woman's country, and women love

> peace. Once women say no, American men are doomed to obey. As for the Philippine Islands and Hawaii, if it so happens that Japan is given those American territories by some political arrangement well and good, but they are not worthy of conquest by force of arms. I am not for the occupation of the State of California but America will do well to admit Japanese on a generous footing.
>
> "British oversea colonies are what Japan should conquer . . . our national policy should be a southward one. . . . Canada is too far for Japan. . . . In short, Japan's sphere of extension lies beyond the equator, in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania."

What is there in this writing of Mr. Kazan that goes to prove that Japan intends to assail the Monroe Doctrine? The purport of his essay is, on the contrary, to show that Japan's interest is to avoid her interference in the regions where the Monroe Doctrine rules, and to bend her energy elsewhere.

Whether or not we agree with the latter view is not important here, but the question of complete misconstruction of the author's writing by the quotation of only a part of his essay is one that ought not be overlooked.

The examples already given are, I believe, sufficient to demonstrate the method adopted by Mr. Rea. If this method were followed it would not perhaps be a difficult task to make of St. Paul a rabid jingoist and an unholy man.

III. *False allegations and base insinuations.*

Among many false allegations and base insinuations Mr. Rea has seen fit to heap upon Japan, that which shows the greatest disregard for international courtesy, and is manifestly aimed to arouse among American people the feeling of enmity toward Japan, is the untenable misconstruction and absurd twist he has made of the utterances of Baron Makino and Baron Kato, two former Foreign Ministers of Japan, regarding the pending question between the Washington and Tokio Governments. Besides giving unnecessary prominence, by means of big impressive type, to the replies of the two ex-Ministers to interpellations in the Japanese Diet concerning the status of the California question, Mr. Rea has so ingeniously misconstrued them as to persuade his readers to reach the conclusion that "Japan is pre-

paring to enforce her demands at the muzzle of her guns when the opportune time has arrived." When such an insinuation is made we cannot but see the cards laid upon the table.

What, then, is the real nature of these ministerial replies? True, Japan is not at all satisfied with the answers of the American Government. So, Baron Makino tells the Diet that the government is "elaborating other plans for the solution of the pending question," about whose nature, however, he regrets the time has not yet arrived to disclose. Is it in any way unreasonable for a diplomat to excuse himself in the interest of his country from disclosing his plans until they have seen successful execution? In this method Japan is no exception to the rule. And yet Mr. Rea reads in this reticence an ominous sign. In spite of Mr. Rea, however, that those plans referred to by Baron Makino were far from being bellicose, as Mr. Rea insinuates, but rather conciliatory—that is to say, "looking to the conclusion of a convention" between America and Japan—is conclusively proved by the instructions Baron Kato, the successor of Baron Makino, gave to Viscount Chinda, Japanese ambassador at Washington.

Mr. Rea then wonders "what is the change in the policy of the Okuma Ministry towards the California

question," and hastens to sibilate that there is a sinister motive in the change. It is quite remarkable that Mr. Rea fails to discern the real nature of the change in that policy in the light of Baron Kato's instructions to Viscount Chinda which he himself quotes at length. That change was simply the breaking off of Makino's plans and a reversion to the former negotiations, wherein Baron Kato hoped "a fundamental solution of the question at issue may happily be found."

If Mr. Rea is determined to hunt up a ghost at every turn, he will not fail to find one in every bush.

IV. *Mr. Rea and Japan's press censorship.*

Among other allegations made by Mr. Rea, what he writes on press censorship and the implication that America is kept in complete ignorance of Japan's doings and thoughts should not be lightly passed over. He asserts that "it is well to bear in mind the significant fact that even in times of peace a press censorship obtains in Japan that is far more strictly enforced even than the war censorship in Germany or the nations allied against the Central Powers," and that, because of this strict censorship, "America is maintained in profound ignorance of what transpires in Japan," that we are conspiring "to delude America as to Japan's real aims and policies." These are extraordinary statements. What facts warrant

such sweeping assertions by Mr. Rea? He is, in fact, under the illusion of finding Japan of to-day the same as described in the pages of Millard and Putnam Weale wherein is depicted "Bureaucratic Japan." The conditions now ruling will be plain enough to establish the utter falsehood of Mr. Rea's allegations. Since the advent of the Parliamentary régime, especially since Count Okuma, master of publicity, took the reins of government, the press of Japan is just as untrammeled as that of America or England. The only restrictions imposed on that freedom now relate to the divulgence of state or military secrets in time of war. It was on account of the Kiaochow campaign that on September 16, 1914, the Japanese Government promulgated a press censorship which was in the form of a departmental ordinance of the Foreign Office. Now that the Kiaochow campaign is over, however, that ordinance, although not repealed, has ceased to be enforced with former rigor. Whether you like or not, the press of Japan now says what it wants to say.

Is not Mr. Rea himself a standing refutation of the accusation he makes? Were his assertions true, how could he succeed in gathering the materials he has presented to us, some of which I am sure are not to the liking of the Japanese Government? And the quotations from the vernacular press which he

has given us are nothing but translations (often badly executed and wrongly done) that have appeared in the papers edited in the English language. Had Mr. Rea a knowledge of Japanese literature, he could find to his heart's content all the shades of Japanese public opinion represented as in America by the papers ranging from the yellowest of yellow journals to the most respectable. What Mr. Rea attributes to us is just the opposite of what we are doing. Instead of trying to hide from American eyes Japan's real aims and policies, the East and West News Bureau is endeavoring to make these known to the American people. We feel the importance of our publicity work the more as there are such sinister influences as Mr. Rea running counter to the cause of promoting friendly relations between the two countries. Mr. Rea, will, I hope, not be slow to see this point.

V. *Mr. Rea and Japanese newspapers.*

I cannot admit the justice of the charge Mr. Rea makes that "the Japanese newspapers, despite the operation of press censorship, continually misrepresent American acts and American thoughts." The evidences he cites in support of this contention are the *Manchurian Daily News*, which printed an alleged cable dispatch describing "a war meeting of the American Cabinet to consider steps to be taken

against Japan"; the *Yorodzu*, which published "a fake interview of an alleged paymaster of the American navy who was reported to have said that the United States was pushing ahead preparations for a war with Japan"; and the *Yamato*, which gave out a fabrication of a speech supposed to have been made by Admiral Cowles at Peking, to the effect that America is closely watching Japan with regard to her sinister designs on China.

The three papers above quoted are either local or sensation-loving papers and command no great respect from the Japanese public. But what strikes me as simply ridiculous is the nature of the stories chosen as evidences of Mr. Rea's contention. If he really remains ignorant of the true sources of these sensational items, his blindness would hardly recompense the industry with which he gathers his materials. I would hesitate to affirm that the circulation of these false reports formed part of the German propaganda then active at Peking and Tokio. But so far as the *Yorodzu* story goes, it is definitely known that it was a fabrication of a fellow countryman of Mr. Rea, whose name, however, I would forbear to mention. The same hand was seen in the publication in most of the Hearst papers of the so-called translation of "A Dream Story of War between America and Japan." If such are the sources to

which Mr. Rea has to resort for evidence to sustain his contentions, it is well for him to recognize that he stands on pretty slippery ground. And I have reason to cast doubt upon the genuineness of some of Mr. Rea's quotations from the editorials of Japanese papers, as for instance the editorial of the *Hochi*, which is said to have advocated Japan's interference in Mexico. No date is given to the editorial, so that I have no data to verify its genuineness. I rejoice to see that, while there might be a few Americans residing in Japan who are trying to sow the seed of discord between the two countries, the vast majority of good Americans are trying their best to counteract the influence of those mischief-makers. Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, President of the American Peace Society of Japan, says: "We cannot too severely condemn and deprecate the continual activity of one of our fellow countrymen residing here, in furnishing misinformation to the papers in America, as he recently did, in pretending to give them an accurate translation of an unimportant book, with a high-sounding title, purporting to have the approval of the leading men in the government circles of Japan."

In spite of Mr. Rea's assertion, I can definitely affirm that in the leading papers of Japan American acts and American thoughts are fairly well re-

presented. Numerous examples could be given here to confirm my point, had not this article already reached its limit.

There are some other topics Mr. Rea discusses, to which I would like to reply. But it would serve no purpose. The foregoing are sufficient, I believe, to show the absurdities of Mr. Rea's arguments and the weaknesses of the method he employs. However unwarranted are most of his deductions, however biased his views, it should be acknowledged in fairness that Mr. Rea has stimulated discussion among his fellow countrymen on the Far Eastern situation and opened their eyes to many difficult problems confronting Japan as well as to the important questions involved in the relations between America and Japan. I feel the American people owe it to themselves to study the questions at issue in good earnest and find for them a speedy, happy solution. What remains for me is to record here my complete disagreement with the vital conclusion Mr. Rea has reached that the American-Japanese questions can be settled only by the arbitrament of the sword. My firm conviction is that their fundamental solution is to be found only in mutual understanding and concessions based upon justice and fairness.

# JAPAN'S FINANCIAL STABILITY

R. Ichinomiya
*Manager of the Yokohama Specie Bank.*

(*The N. Y. "Tribune," December 29, 1915.*)

Conditions as Set Forth by Mr. George Bronson Rea Pronounced Purely Imaginary by the Agent of the Yokohama Specie Bank—Japan in No Danger Whatever of National Bankruptcy.

*To the Editor of "The Tribune":*

Sir: In the letters of Mr. George Bronson Rea appearing in your estimable paper are many statements which are gross misrepresentations of actual facts and conditions as they exist at the present time in Japan.

With one matter, however, I wish to deal if you will permit me, namely, Mr. Rea's attacks on the economic stability and the financial credit of Japan. When I read in two of Mr. Rea's letters these attacks

on Japan's financial status, with their context, I wonder what his real underlying motives are. Let us compare Mr. Rea's averments and statements with the facts, and then judge.

I find in Mr. Rea's letter of December 14th the following bald statements:

> A careful consideration of Japan's financial position shows that unless she abandons her militarist and expansionist policy she will sooner or later be brought face to face with national bankruptcy.
>
> Japan is nearing the end of her resources.
>
> Her militarism must end in bankruptcy or be justified by conquest. Who will pay? Japan cannot.
>
> Her fixed and unalterable military and naval program in the face of impending bankruptcy.

Here is, indeed, a fixed idea which will not be misunderstood for want of repetition, to which there is just one sufficing answer: That in no country on the globe is closer account kept of means and objects of expenditure than in Japan; that her obligations have been met without exception and to the hour; that if, in common with the rest of the civilized world, her governmental expenses have increased, her resources, her manufactures, her mercantile shipping have developed in an amazing degree; that alongside the absolute demands of her military and naval establishments Japan has been making unexampled

expenditures in education, social betterment, transportation, agricultural experimentation, scientific progress, and national well-being which of themselves refute the scandalous libel on her economic stability. Such expenditures, giving results shared in by all, are the outlay of peoples secure in their economic system.

In his article of December 19th Mr. Rea returns to the assault. Now his concern is over Japan's high taxation, the increase in her naval tonnage, her poverty, the high price of rice, the average of the poor man's expenses, all summed up in the following sad cry of the cat in the moonlight, or, as you say, jeremiad:

> The finances of Japan are in a critical stage. The taxes are very heavy. They not only cause price inflations, but depress business. The Bank of Japan, in order to accommodate the government, is compelled to increase its note issues, thus adding another cause of price inflation. Payment of interest charges and redemption of loans necessitate the exportation of gold, thus diminishing the gold reserve and threatening to put the currency on a paper basis. Yet the government keeps on borrowing, and is determined to carry out its policy of military expansion.

It would be hard to write anything more contrary to the facts than the above. Japan is flourishing; there is no depression of business. The Bank of

Japan is full of gold. I do not wish to utter unsupported words. I might quote abundantly from the current responsible press of Japan, but instead I crave your courtesy to let me give the following figures taken from the latest *Financial and Economical Annual* (1914) officially prepared by the Department of Finance of Japan. Bankers and financiers will appreciate them. Possibly Mr. Rea will realize their import. One yen, I may say, equals about fifty cents in United States money.

Taxes are not unbearably heavy, as Mr. Rea has represented them to be, viz.: The total tax is a trifle over yen 6 per capita, which shows little change since 1908. All taxes, including customs duties in 1908, amounted to yen 320,000,000, whereas they increased to yen 340,000,000 in 1914. To illustrate how these taxes affected popular savings and business affairs of the country, the following figures are self-explanatory:

DEPOSITS IN POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS

| | 1908 | 1914 | Increase | Ratio of inc. Pct. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yen.... | 92,000,000 | 192,000,000 | 100,000,000 | 108 |

DEPOSITS IN BANKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yen.... | 1,540,000,000 | 2,120,000,000 | 580,000,000 | 37½ |

BANK CLEARINGS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yen.... | 6,250,000,000 | 10,200,000,000 | 3,950,000,000 | 63 |

Since 1914, and increasingly during the present year, a vast improvement has taken place in all directions. A bumper crop of rice reduced the price of that foodstuff very materially. Exports in general, and of war requirements, increased greatly over imports. In consequence the amount of gold in vault and on account of the Bank of Japan has been correspondingly increased. On August 1, 1914, the total issues of the Bank of Japan notes were yen 327,000,000 against which the bank held a gold reserve of yen 216,000,000, a ratio of 66 per cent., beside keeping yen 134,000,000 more gold outside of the note reserve. On November 13, 1915, the latest report to hand shows that the note issue amounts to yen 304,000,000, against which the Bank of Japan held gold amounting to yen 217,000,000, the ratios being 71 per cent., besides keeping more gold, amounting to yen 289,000,000, outside of the said reserve. Thus it will be seen that the total amount of gold held by the Bank of Japan is yen 506,000,000, whereas the outstanding amount of issue is yen 304,000,000, the ratio being 166 per cent.!

In view of the financial and economic conditions at present, and in the near future, this amount of gold will increase continually. There are minds to whom casual observation of the facts and figures might lead to a different opinion, but the important

thing is that they will tell to the intelligent and the expert that it is the opposite of fact to say that Japan is in any danger of "nearing the end of her resources," or is ever most remotely "face to face with national bankruptcy." Japan, I repeat, is flourishing; her business is booming; her future secure.

New York, Dec. 23, 1915.

# MR. REA AND HIS MISSION

JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE

(In the following Mr. Clarke has thrown into one article the main points of communications which appeared in the New York *Herald*, New York *Tribune*, and *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, traversing many of the anti-Japanese vagaries of Mr. George Bronson Rea, adding thereto some narrative and comments which Mr. Rea's latest efforts against the peace of the United States seem to him to call for.)

MR. GEORGE BRONSON REA in his recent pamphlet, adorned ironically on its cover with the sunburst of Japan, and which he devotes to an endeavor to upset the good relations between the United States and Japan, is guilty of a double offence:

1. His garbling, mutilating, and deliberate misconstruing of quotations to help his unworthy cause make one branch of this unscrupulousness.

2. His hideous and unpardonable statement in the same pamphlet to the effect that all Americans who stand for the good faith of Japan, against the bitter misrepresentations of himself and his kind, are traitorously engaged in putting stumbling blocks in the way of American "preparedness" is the other.

The latter—a black falsehood and an infamous libel—is not to be passed over lightly, not merely on account of its personal bearing, but because it is the one foul item on which he counts to inflame the minds of the thoughtless, and incite a belief in the coarse propositions that follow it. It is shameful.

The mental and moral caliber of the man must be very low who makes so base a charge in face of the ease of controverting it.

He says, with some glimmer of perception, that when he emits one of his misshapen missiles, he is sure to awaken someone who deplores the "wrong impression." That is very euphemistic for the utterances that should characterize his defamatory output. The late Horace Greeley would have expressed it otherwise. Tennyson has said:

A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,
But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.

Mr. Rea's utterance regarding American "preparedness" and the attitude of the American believers in Japan's good faith falls within the first category. His garbling and misquoting fall under the second line.

In one of his latest letters Mr. Rea devoted a stream of inky epithets to myself among others,

slurring our devotion to America or, as an alternative, our intelligence. However it may be about the latter, no man shall in my case impugn the former. A man's loyalty is sacred ground, and no Dugald Dalgetty can trespass on it. That is my personal part of it. I shall deal with "preparedness" further on as a general proposition, I trust conclusively. Meanwhile let us look a little closer at Mr. Rea.

He complains of "personalities"! Why, they are of the very essence of this argument. It is in vain that Mr. Rea of Washington, D. C., wishes to throw off all personal connection with the Mr. Rea of Shanghai, China, who wrote another recent series of articles in American papers attacking Japan in the interests of China whereof the handwriting was that of Mr. Rea, but the voice was that of a mandarin. They were without effect. They did not stir a ripple. Later, since the Peking government has fallen into its tangle with the Chinese revolutionary republicans, and the efforts of his Chinese congeners to enter the American loan market have been thereby aborted, Mr. Rea felt that he should create a devil-fish flurry in the waters and write his future attacks on Japan from the "American standpoint," if you please. Is it right or fair that he should shed his skin in this matter, leave out altogether his Chinese association, his pro-Chinese incitations to attack on

Japan, as easily as he had shed his badge of service to the Chinese Republic and to Sun Yat Sen? Who is he to vilipend all those loyal, honest Americans who like myself will not take his word that Japan's policies are the seizure of China and the conquest of the United States? If he added to this program the annexation of Siberia and the bagging of India and Australia it would be scarcely more irresponsibly fantastic—and mentally lamentable.

Mr. Rea some years since established himself at Shanghai, China, and there in company with a well-known journalist, now of Peking, founded the *Far Eastern Review*. It is amusing to note that this partner is one of those whom Mr. Rea is fain to quote when he is claiming support for his various "views." In time came the sudden overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China, and Mr. Rea attached himself to the revolution, accepting high office from Sun Yat Sen. When the infant republic went under, Mr. Rea went over to the new government which has put a price upon the head of Sun Yat Sen! Mr. Rea appeared in the United States last year apparently in the train of the Chinese governmental delegation that came over in the interest of Chinese loans and so forth, appearing, according to the papers, at the Chinese restaurants in New York where the local Chinese fêted the delegation. At the same time

he began his first series of letters aiming to show that Japan was about to swallow China.

And whom, in his pamphlet directed against the peace of the United States and Japan, does he put forward to vouch for him? Professor Jeremiah Jenks, long in the service of China, Director of the New York Chinese Bureau, and now understood to be on his way to Peking in pursuit of his Chinese employment. Truly most naïve, the whole proceeding.

And of these is the fount and origin of the latest attack upon Japan!

It is inevitable that he who sows distrust, sharpens suspicion, provokes enmity, or pours poison drops of hatred into the mind should, in times of stress, be given readier access to the vehicles of public information than he who simply stands for faith and trust in common honesty and common sense. Your poisoner is more piquant. At what does Mr. Rea strike? At America's faith in the honesty of Japan, a friendly, civilized, compacted, organized, progressive nation. As at his start, so at his finish, he cries out, "Beware! Beware of Japan!" Unfortunately the refuge of the false prophet is the indeterminedness of his malefic forecast, leaving time as the only final arbiter. Yet as other false prophets of Japanese hostility have fallen on the time test,

we may safely put Mr. George Bronson Rea in the class with Captain Hobson.

I have affirmed that Mr. Rea's object was to champion the idea that China was the desirable friend of the United States, not Japan—"Codling is the friend, not Short." In his last letters, however, he has set about his cultivation of the anti-Japanese virus under cover of an appeal for American "preparedness." Surely his cause is desperate when he seeks to hang its piebald tatters on the coat of mail which America in her sturdy self-respect is fashioning to-day.

It needed the flame and shock of arms of a war-mad world to put America in her present frame of mind. When the shifts and schemes of wrangling statesmen in the rear of the battling armies were breaking down the governmental moralities of the world, tearing up treaties, ignoring international laws, it at last behooved the great neutral nation of the West to remember that her good intentions, her long practice of justice and proved good will might avail nothing before a conquest-crazy power flushed with bloody victories. America's strength must be as visible of all men as her sense of justice. It was no menace from Asia, Africa, or Oceanica, but from the Powers at the heart and heaving center of our most modern civilization—from Europe.

Apart altogether from what they stood and stand for in the great struggle, it was the menace of war-mad Germany, Austria, France, England, Russia, Italy, Turkey, and the little fighting powers in any combination, aye, all combined—the Old World against the New—that woke up the United States. This need of defensive preparation struck no single watchman on the tower; it had no original precursor; it sprang full-armed from the minds of the millions. It was not in succession to any lobbyist who schemed before the war to sell dynamite to the government or to build battleships in private yards on pretense that this distant nation or the other had a measurable sea power or land power to do us harm.

Such calculations have been the commonplace of the chancelleries, our own sea and land service included, for half a century. We did not care how many their ships, their cannon, or their armed men; we would be a model of trust in normal human nature and continue to see the normal in peace and law abiding. We coined the word "unthinkable" to show paradoxically what we thought of the war peddlers' dismal outcries. But with the progress of events in Europe the nation saw, as beneath a searchlight of a million candle-power, that the safety, the honor, the inviolability of this continent depended on our being prepared to defend our shores,

our soil, our homes, to the last dollar and the last man.

And that is how America feels to-day and will feel to-morrow and hereafter until sanity is restored to the world or a wide disarmament renders harmless the human animals of prey among the nations—until the Golden Rule is more than a shibboleth, is translatable into acts the world around. We are bent upon it now as never before have we been bent upon a great movement, and he, big or little, who holds any other belief or clings to any other policy, call himself pacifist or what not, shall be swept away among the unconsidered or the despised.

And to this people, thus engaged, thus devoted to the idea of ample warlike defense, come Mr. Rea and his congeners with all sorts of unmusical instruments, shrill like Mr. Rea or double bass like Professor Jenks, to say: "Japan is the enemy; China is the friend; beware of Japan."

In the count of possible elements of hostility, certainly in the purview of the professional soldier and the theorizing tactician of private life, Japan counts for so many ships, guns, and trained, brilliant fighting men, but not else and no further. On the other side, however, she may and must be counted, namely, on the side of the possible, powerful, supporting friend. Why not? She stands as isolate

in her islands under the lee of China as we stand with regard to the Powers now at war in the West.

She wants our trade, our good will, as we want hers. All her tendencies, national, financial, commercial, are averse to conflict with us; all her interests likewise. Beside these tangible, palpable things —like silk, tea, banking, and scholarship—the fair, courteous words of her statesmen, her captains of industry, her Mikado, her generals, and admirals, are weak as proofs of friendliness, be they never so sincere and timely. Therefore, by the manly, friendly word as by the national need and the great gulf stream of profitable trade, Japan stands, I hold and claim, among our friends for the ages, and not by any cause in sight to be counted among our foes.

This is the story of America's campaign for "preparedness" to which Japan does not make, cannot make, any objection. Rather should she welcome the thought that her possible or probable fellow-champion of free government should in the event of Teutonic victory in Europe be able to rise in her might and defend the Western hemisphere against the demon of governmental militarism, as Japan would have to do in Eastern Asia.

And now to the point for Mr. Rea. Where has he ever found a word uttered by an American friend of Japan against American "preparedness"? So

far as I am concerned he falsifies. He read my declaration of faith months ago in my reply to his first pro-Chinese series in the *Herald.* It is brief and to the point, and I requote it here:

> I believe in the United States, the doctrine of Monroe, a strong army and navy, a fortified canal, the pan-American communion, the freedom of trade and the freedom of the sea, the forgiveness of fools when they are not also knaves, the commanding of peace on the Pacific in understanding with Japan, the friendship of civilized nations and progress everlasting. And against all who for whatever cause would stir up passion and hate to the upsetting of that doctrine, I would proclaim anathema.

Of what rags does he construct his argument? Japan he says is overtaxed and underfed, is all but and soon will be (or was about to be, but wasn't in July last) bankrupt and, therefore, since her population is increasing (as prosperity always increases population), she is bound to go to war with some one soon, and, of course, she will at once proceed to attack the United States! That sort of hare-brained, helter-skelter nonsense does not convince any one, but is the purport of three of his letters viewed as one. Looked at separately they are simply a series of his misleading opinions and quotations and without basis in actual fact in the directions he describes. He of course foully wrongs the Japanese gentlemen

who resented the gross mistranslation, coarse exploitation, and ascription of a certain *Dream Book of War* to Count Okuma and the leaders of Japan. I can add one fact, however, on that point, namely that the National Defense Board of whose title he makes sinister use was not brought into existence because of any possible difficulty with America, but simply as a means whereby the appropriations for army and navy could go before their Parliament with the highest official and expert authority. I was in Japan at the time; the matter was so stated in all the papers. It will be remembered that ministries have been wrecked on the question of army increase—the Two Divisions question. There was absolutely no anti-American feeling extant that I could discover, but not a little criticism of Baron Kato's publication of the diplomatic conversations and letters on the questions between Washington and Tokio. The existence of the National Defense Board was as widely known as any such fact in the governmental make-up. The contrary idea is more than a "wrong impression" on the part of Mr. Rea!

While I hold it manifestly absurd that the only way for a publicist to serve China is by misrepresenting Japan, yet that seems to be Mr. Rea's idea and practice. Let it be understood that his "vital irritants," as he aptly calls them, are applied to help

China by setting, if possible, Japan and the United States at loggerheads, and a proper discount may be put upon his narratives and his very hollow protestations of impartiality. Moreover, the process is distinctly of Chinese origin. Centuries before the Germans fired their asphyxiating gas bombs into the trenches of the Allies, the Chinese used their celebrated hand-thrown jars of evil name with exactly the same object, approaching the foe as if holding a gift, and then smothering them with escaping gases. The stink bomb was not effective in winning campaigns then any more than now.

And why, in heaven's name, should China be counted now in a military sense on one side or the other? Her unordered bigness is her weakness. Her advocates dwell upon her lamentable powerlessness in appealing on her behalf against Japan. She is a vast market, and the United States and Japan are at one in their interest as well as good faith in keeping real and valid the "open door" and "equal opportunity."

There is no honesty in proclaiming the contrary. China is struggling to live, and the United States wishes her well in the struggle. Whether she shall be lent money for salaries or railroads depends upon the order in her big rambling house and lot, upon her collateral; not, as Mr. Rea thinks, upon America's

opinion of Japan. Less embittered, less loquacious advocates of China might find time to see that.

I do not intend to follow Mr. Rea through his stories that have "part a truth" in them, but it is as well to note that his diatribe opens with a phrase from Count Okuma, which Mr. Rea traces to one of his Chinese sages of a long time ago, but which might as aptly be put in the mouth of our Secretary of War or the King of Dahomey: "To know one's enemy is to know oneself." It is, however, Mr. Rea's drop of poison, meant to flavor all that is to follow. His clear intimation is that "the attitude of Japan" toward this country is the attitude of an enemy. Mr. Rea's ignorance of the text or suppression of his knowledge leads him here into a quagmire of absurdity.

Next he serves up the good-hearted, unsuspecting American, blind to everything that will work him woe from under the pleasant aspect of things. Does he not at the start misjudge and insult American intelligence? Then follow quotations to show that there is such press censorship in Japan as to make government policy of whatever he may find in the papers which so much as mention the question of discrimination by the State of California as to land-owning against Japanese residing in that commonwealth. That is untrue, but if it were true, let us

admit that the discrimination is one which most naturally hurts Japanese pride. It is in contravention of a treaty with the United States. Must they not dare to complain of it on peril of having Mr. Rea come down on them? Must they not venture, however meekly, to ask for a way out of it?

Long has Chinese exclusion been the policy of the United States. Where are the Chinese laundries now? Weak and without spirit, China makes no difficulty about it, and, as Mr. Rea has lived so long in China, taking the Chinese view of things, he may really be unable to put himself in the place of any other Asiatic people. I shall not argue the Japanese contention here. Sufficient to recognize its existence, and to hope that American statesmanship will be able to meet Japan on some middle ground, as Baron Shibusawa said not long since to the American guests at a dinner here. And this unsettled question for statesmen to solve is the whole "lock, stock, and barrel" of the verbal gun with which Mr. Rea is bombarding Japan, the missiles being wads of twisted pellets from the publications of Japan.

It, therefore, is pertinent to ask which one of them—even from the yellow *Yorodzu*—is of the stuff that real threats are made of? No "fake" like the United States paymaster imposition is too transparent for Mr. Rea's purpose. No lifting

article like that of Count Okuma on civilization is too plainly laudable for any race or any people but Mr. Rea must quote it at length and wag his head over it as an implied threat that Japan will do some horrible thing to the United States. One may conceive an Oriental—a Chinese as well as a Japanese sage—thinking and saying that the East has something to give to the West. Of course Mr. Rea will think a Chinese might but a Japanese must not think of such a thing, much less say it. Yet let us requote a paragraph:

> A nation recreant to its divine mission is lost. Our military and naval power will amount to nothing if we fail in our duty to humanity. It will profit us little to acquire all the learning of the West if we have nothing to offer in return; it is more blessed to give than to receive.

Most men of heart or honest feeling would find some excellence in such a brave sentiment. Not so Mr. Rea.

Significant of his method I note another sly attempt to confuse issues. A certain *Dream Book of War*, exploited coarsely by the Hearst papers and shown to be irresponsible, foolish—and mistranslated—is referred to in such a way as to make it possible for the reader to imagine that the matter Mr. Rea quotes further on in his letter is from the same book.

It is not, and he knows it. Permit me also to doubt his quotation of a single opinion from a pair of princes which he charges up to the Osaka *Mainichi*.

That Prince Higashi Kuni after his visit to the Manchurian battlefields spoke of "half-human Yankees" I do not believe. It so happened that I made the same pilgrimage as the princes a fortnight after them, and the same Japanese officers who were my mentors and guides at Port Arthur, Liao-Yang, and Mukden had been theirs. On the Liao-Yang battlefield I heard that Prince Higashi Kuni had taken photographs of the celebrated Tachibana Hill, named for the hero who had stormed it and died fighting on its summit. I expressed a desire for copies to my guides as there were no cameras in the party. On my return to Tokio I was waited upon by the secretary of his highness and presented with reprints of the photographs, with a warmly courteous expression of good will.

Finally I would say that no civic crime can be greater than that of inciting nations at peace to mutual murder, and more shamefully so if it be done for sordid ends.

# CRY OF "NIPPON UEBER ALLES" DOES NOT COME FROM JAPAN

SIDNEY L. GULICK

(*The "Public Ledger," January 29, 1916.*)

DOCTOR GULICK ANALYZES THE WHITE PERIL IN THE FAR EAST AND THE ALLEGED YELLOW PERIL IN THE UNITED STATES

As a lecturer in the Imperial University at Kioto Dr. Gulick has been intimately associated with the principal educators of Japan and as a representative of the Federal Council of Churches he has been closely in touch with the leading statesmen of Japan. In regard to American-Japanese relations he is perhaps better informed than any other person in this country and possibly in the world. He has published important works not only on Japanese characteristics and history but also on the specific problems arising out of the new contact of the East and the West. He is author of the proposal to limit immigration from each land on a percentage basis of those from that country already naturalized with their American-born children. This statement of Japan's attitude to America deserves wide reading.—Editor of *Public Ledger.*

*To the Editor of "Public Ledger":*

SIR—Since coming to Philadelphia my attention has been called to a series of articles by George B. Rea on the "Attitude of Japan to the United States," published in the *Public Ledger* in December last. They purport to give the exact and full truth regarding Japan's alleged sinister ambitions for vast military empire, not only in China, but also on the American continent. Many quotations from Japanese sources are given in support of the writer's contention. The conclusion drawn is that the United States is seriously endangered, and that, therefore, we must prepare to contest Japan's expansion.

The author admits the existence of an "unquestionably malicious and mischievous anti-Japanese propaganda." He asserts that it is, therefore, "important for Americans to ascertain if possible the actual Japanese attitude." Professing his own impartiality, he says he has "tried to be a sincere friend of the Japanese." The spirit, however, of the entire series, as well as the method of the argument and the conclusions reached, is completely at variance with these assertions.

Even in his first article he discredits in advance as "*ex parte*" all statements by Japanese statesmen who seek to "smother and counteract the evil effect of sensational anti-Japanese propaganda." And the

total impression of the entire series of the six long articles with their striking headlines is that he completely condemns their alleged ambitions, mistrusts their motives, fears their power, and desires so to arouse the American people that before it be too late we shall be adequately armed to resist Japan's encroachments.

If the facts are indeed entirely as he gives them, and if there is no other relevant material, then nothing is to be added and no valid criticism can be directed against Mr. Rea's presentation of the subject.

Admitting, however, as I do, the substantial accuracy of Mr. Rea's quotations, such as they are, I deny emphatically that he has given us a fair or adequate presentation of the whole situation. He makes no reference to the numberless statements of her most representative men that Japan desires to maintain the historic friendship, nor to the many striking statements by Japanese leaders as to their gratitude to America and their friendship. The proof of this real friendship evidenced by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and its faithful administration during the eight years since its establishment he passes by in absolute silence.

He puts, moreover, in an altogether false light what Japan regards as of the highest importance—

the treatment, namely, of her citizens in America on the basis of honor and freedom from humiliating race discrimination. He fails to grasp, and consequently seriously distorts, Count Okuma's meaning in regard to "Japan's Mission" as the "harmonizer of the East and the West." "Our military and naval power," the Count says, "will amount to nothing if we fail in our duty to humanity. It will profit us little to acquire all the learning of the West if we have nothing to give in return; it is more blessed to give than to receive." "If," he continues, "Japan performs her great mission of bringing East and West into profitable and friendly communion, she will have done the world an invaluable service, sufficient for Japan to make up for all the West has done for Japan."

How this can be distorted by Mr. Rea into a doctrine of "Nippon ueber alles," in its vulgar sense, passes understanding.

Mr. Rea apparently lacks all sympathy with Japan in her many serious problems. He recognizes them, indeed,—the terrible debt, enormous taxes, and heavy population that must find some outlet. But these problems elicit no sympathy—nor does he give any hint as to how they may be solved. He represents her military and naval development as due entirely to malicious ambitions and purposes,

and fails to note how her very existence as an independent nation has been made possible in this militaristic era of Christendom only because of her relative "preparedness."

Mr. Rea also fails to appreciate the real nature of and ground for the anti-American agitation in Japan. There is, to my mind, far more reason and occasion for it than for the corresponding anti-Japanese agitation in America. It has frequently been noted that the agitation in Japan rises and falls with that in America. The White Peril in the Far East has been a real one for centuries, and especially for the last quarter of a century, since the "Powers" completed their partitioning of Africa and began to turn their attention to China.

Inasmuch as Japan's increasing population has been refused admittance to every "white-man's land," in spite of their enormous undeveloped resources, Japan, accepting that situation, has begun to turn to the continent of Asia—to Korea and Manchuria. Yet for so doing she is misrepresented and denounced in scathing terms.

If we would understand Japan's policies, purposes, and attitude to the United States and to other countries, we must see her problems as they actually are and enter sympathetically into her efforts to solve them.

It is as impossible to understand and do justice in our judgments of a nation that is suspected, hated, and feared as it is of an individual.

Mr. Rea's entire argument is a striking example of special pleading. Of his readers few, as a rule, have the adequate background of personal knowledge to enable them to see that it is such.

If, then, I dispute the correctness of Mr. Rea's picture of Japan's attitude to the United States, what is that attitude? I will be asked. My answer is that it is highly mixed. As in America, so in Japan there are jingoes and sensationalists, and there are selfish politicians who seek to ride on any available interest or prejudice into popularity and power. There are swelled-heads and spread-eagle imperialists and disciples of the school of Bernhardi. These all talk big and loud and threateningly. But there are also sane statesmen and responsible business men, among whom I may name Okuma, Shibusawa, Kikuchi, Sakatani, Ebara, and Soyeda. These men see clearly what the problems are, and are seeking to guide the ship of state through turbulent waters filled with dangerous rocks. For Japan faces serious internal as well as international problems and difficulties. Which of these many factors are to control Japan's future depends in no small degree on what we do or fail to do.

A year ago it was my privilege to go to Japan with Doctor Shailer Mathews as the Christian embassy representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. That experience enabled me to see how many were the cross-currents and eddies in the stream of Japanese public opinion. While it is, of course, unfair to pick out as representative of Japanese thought only friendly utterances, so is it also unfair to pick out as representative only anti-American or jingoistic utterances.

Japan, I believe, sincerely desires as a whole to maintain the historic friendship with America, but the solid and sane leaders of Japan also insist with deep conviction that this friendship can and should be maintained only on a basis of honor. Humiliating and race discriminative legislation is not the basis upon which the permanent friendship of these two countries can be maintained.

War between America and Japan is not inevitable, neither is it impossible. Whether or not it will come will depend almost wholly upon America's Asiatic policies. The situation has not become acute as yet, but we must not blink at its seriousness. Nor must we lay the blame, as Mr. Rea does, on Japan's alleged sinister purposes. We must recognize and remedy our own defective attitude and treatment. Now, before the situation does become acute, is the time to adopt

those principles of Golden Rule Internationalism, upon which alone the permanent peace of America with Asia, or with Europe, can be maintained.

I firmly believe that at this extraordinary period in the world's history, if America should enact legislation doing away with all our race discriminatory legislation against Japanese and Chinese and should seek really to aid those great and important nations to solve their enormous and enormously difficult problems as they enter into the stream of world relations and cosmopolitan civilization, we could win them to a reality of friendship that would be of the highest value to us as well as to them.

We would turn the much-talked-of "Yellow Peril" into a golden opportunity and make the Pacific Ocean truly pacific.

Of course, in removing differential race treatment from our laws we should carefully provide for the just demands of the Pacific Coast States for protection from the danger of swamping Asiatic immigration. How this may be done I have indicated with some fullness in many articles, pamphlets, and also in two volumes dealing with this entire subject.

PHILADELPHIA, January 28, 1916.

# "SHANGHAI ATTITUDE" AND ANTI-JAPANESE PROPAGANDA

DR. R. B. TEUSLER

(*The "Public Ledger," March 3, 1916.*)

INFORMED FRIEND OF COUNT OKUMA REPLIES TO GEORGE BRONSON REA'S STATEMENTS ABOUT JINGO SENTIMENT IN JAPAN

*To the Editor of "Public Ledger":*

One is reminded of a Fourth of July pyrotechnic display in the series of articles published recently by Mr. George Bronson Rea in the *Public Ledger* and other American newspapers. Burdened with figures to prove his own personal opinions, and replete with erroneous deductions drawn from partially quoted statements of representative Japanese, the articles leave upon the mind of the reader a confused sense of much display and little substance.

To begin with, Mr. Rea states he has long been resident in Japan. Has he? From what I can learn Mr. Rea several years ago lived in Shanghai —that acknowledged hot-bed from which springs so much anti-Japanese sentiment and propaganda—

and apparently he faithfully reflects the "Shanghai attitude," as we call it in the Far East. But I can find no record of his ever having lived in Japan, which fact really accounts for his articles, because if he knew the Japanese personally, and the Japanese question from his own observation, he would never have written the articles under discussion. It is a significant fact that those who know the Japanese best are those who speak in the highest terms of them. Mr. Rea does not speak in their favor, and apparently has some end to serve in trying to persuade his reader that the natural expansion of Japan in Asia is a political and commercial menace to America.

That decrepit old bogey of threatening war between Japan and America he again serves up in slightly new garb, but with no more foundation in fact than usual. Mr. Rea lays much stress upon the significance of jingo articles appearing in the Japanese press against America, and states that "Japan is steadily preparing behind a screen of censorship to bring her organized enmity for the United States to an issue." I have lived in Japan sixteen years, and I know that the press censorship as he refers to it does not even exist. There is no country in the world where the press is allowed more liberty in stating anything it pleases, even of the most libelous

character, so long as it does not reveal State secrets, or infringe certain press rules which have no connection whatsoever with the quotations made by Mr. Rea. We all know this lack of press censorship in Japan, and pay scarcely any attention to articles such as he refers to and enlarges upon as though they reflected the policy or the attitude of the Japanese Government, which they do not. Mr. Rea gives this fact away repeatedly; as, for instance, when he writes: "The Japanese papers, despite the operation of this censorship, continually misrepresent American acts and American thoughts." They do this "continually" just because there is no censorship, not in spite of it. And, again, he quotes from Mr. Zumoto (who, by the way, is not the "Editor of the Japan *Times*"—Mr. Rea's statements too frequently lack accuracy): "The only restrictions imposed on the liberty of the press relate to divulgences of State and military secrets in time of contingencies." This quotation from Mr. Zumoto does not support the statement of Mr. Rea, and I wonder why he makes it.

As to the series of "wilful fabrications" he gives in detail and ascribes to leading Japanese papers and editors, I happen to know the stories and also the man who wrote most of them. He was a discredited American newspaper correspondent who came to Japan and, failing to make good, had recourse to

writing sensational fake news stories. Trading on his name and supposed position, he sold these stories to some of the Japanese newspapers. These fake concoctions, written by an American, Mr. Rea quotes to prove the existence of a strong anti-American feeling in Japan. The same thing happens in America frequently enough. Is the American Government or the American people held responsible for such stuff? Or does such sensational lying prove the existence of an anti-Japanese feeling in America? There is in Japan no censorship as described by Mr. Rea, and therefore his deductions, based on this premise and filling two of his articles, are absurd and false. Also, there is in Japan no "organized enmity for the United States." For Mr. Rea to make such an assertion is exceedingly misleading. Statements like this blazoned through headlines in our newspapers constitute a serious offense to the friendship and peace of America and Japan, and no man who has at heart the welfare of America should make them, putting aside for the moment the welfare of Japan.

Several of Mr. Rea's quotations from the Japanese press merely reflect the fact that Japan does not consider she has received fair treatment in the California land question. Any one familiar with the facts must acknowledge this, and few people in the United States, when directly taxed with the question,

deny it. We have many excuses and reasons to explain the action taken in California; but practically no one outside of the State approves the methods adopted or the laws as enacted, and many in the State of California are entirely opposed to her anti-Japanese measures. Certainly Japan has the right to object to them, but she is not "only nursing her wrath," nor is "the entire nation seething with indignation and demanding that their equality be recognized." Mr. Rea does not know what he is talking about, and he should come to Japan and learn a thing or two before he uses such strong language. Mr. Rea's articles are replete with misstatements. He tries to make his readers believe such stuff as this: "Ignorant of the Japanese language, and unable to read the vernacular papers, it is impossible for a foreigner to know anything more than the authorities desire he should know." What nonsense! There are many foreigners in Japan who read the daily papers with ease, and our Embassy in Tokio, as well as the embassies of every other nation, have attachés who daily go through the Japanese press and translate anything of interest or significance in the public print. Also, the *Japan Advertiser*, an American daily newspaper, published in Tokio, has a paid staff of translators, and each day several columns of this paper are devoted to the editorials and other interesting matter

taken from the leading Japanese newspapers. Mr. Rea must know this, and why is he trying to delude his American readers?

Again, Mr. Rea entirely misrepresents the formation of the International News Agency of Japan. He intimates that the Japanese Government established this news agency, which I know positively is not true. The agency was organized and successfully launched by Mr. J. R. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy, after several years of very successful newspaper work in Washington and New York, was sent to Tokio by the Associated Press in charge of its bureau there for the Far East. After holding this position for several years he resigned, and on his own initiative and through his own exertion the International News Agency of Japan was established. This agency is a private corporation, just as is the Associated Press or Reuter's, and it is idle and absurd for Mr. Rea to try and prove it is a government news agency. The agency is doing splendid work, and it is under the immediate direction of an American, who has justly proven himself worthy of the greatest confidence and respect, both as a newspaper man and a gentleman.

There are many other glaring misstatements in Mr. Rea's articles, in fact, I have never read anything on the Far Eastern question more filled with

one-sided statements, false deductions, and misinterpreted quotations. It would require too much space to refute in detail the many incorrect statements made and misleading prophecies indulged in. Will it not throw some light on the matter to ask why is Mr. Rea so anxious to establish an anti-Japanese campaign? Why is he so eager to inflame the people of America against the Japanese? Why at such pains to produce an anti-Japanese sentiment in this country? There are a good many doing the same thing. Some are in the pay directly or indirectly of Germany. I do not believe Mr. Rea is. Some have goods to sell in China, and fear Japan in the Far Eastern markets. Many exporters to China are afraid of Japan and willing to credit and further, more or less, any criticism destructive to her interests. China herself benefits by the spread of this anti-Japanese sentiment in America, and invokes it whenever and wherever she dares. Mr. Rea is too partisan in his attitude to escape the suspicion that he has part in some anti-Japanese propaganda here in America. And whether he has or not, what he writes about Japan in these articles is of no practical value, because apparently he is not familiar with the actual conditions existing in Japan to-day, either regarding America or China.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 2, 1916.

# JAPAN AND AMERICA

RUSSELL DILKES

(*The "Public Ledger," December 21, 1916.*)

OBJECTIONS TAKEN TO SOME OF THE STATEMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS OF MR. REA

*To the Editor of "Public Ledger" :*

SIR—George Bronson Rea is very badly making out a very bad case against the Japanese yellow peril. Six quotations are offered from Japanese newspapers for the purpose of showing Japan's attitude toward us is one of enmity fed on lies and slanders against us, ever seeking a *casus belli*, their government helpless to restrain her public journals from keeping alive national hatred for us.

On the contrary, the first example of public opinion quoted to-day simply raises a question as to whether England would take sides with the United States if, in the future, such a deplorable thing should occur as war between Japan and the United States.

Wherein does this show Japanese enmity toward America?

The second quotation will be found to confirm our own attitude toward our own Monroe Doctrine, applicable to Mexico.

Wherein does it offend against us?

The third quotation admits that, if any German in America should stir up trouble in our midst (God knows they have been doing their best) Japan would certainly in honor not stand idly by in the face of tendered insults.

Would George Bronson Rea recommend that they do so?

The fourth quotation makes an innocent observation that Australia is becoming Americanized, that "no satisfactory negotiations have been accomplished regarding Japanese through the British Foreign Office."

What has this got to do with Japanese enmity toward the United States?

The fifth quotation takes up the Japanese citizenship question. Far from being a belligerent diatribe, it speaks more in sorrow than in anger of our own antiquated, unfriendly, un-Christian attitude toward the Japanese people. It suggests that matters can hardly be remedied by grape-juice diplomacy; that the friendship of the two nations can hardly be pre-

served, much less augmented, in the face of our own continued attitude toward them based on unique race discrimination.

Wherein does this article show their enmity toward us?

The sixth quotation, in a Christian spirit, lauds the ideals of Japan as the civilizer of the East as we have been of the West; as the adopter of our own ideals and democratic institutions. There is not a word in it of enmity toward any race or nation or creed. No Paul could ask for an expression of greater charity. It might have been copied, *mutatis mutandis*, from out of our own Presidential "messages" of a century ago.

If there is any evidence of national hatred, enmity, and strife, it is on the part of jingoes on our own Pacific slope. If George Bronson Rea considers Japan a real peril, he should prove his case more plausibly.

PHILADELPHIA, December 18, 1915.

# JAPAN'S NATIONAL DEFENSE BOARD

C. OHIRA

(*The N. Y. "Tribune," January 22, 1916.*)

*To the Editor of "The Tribune":*

SIR—In an article appearing in to-day's *Tribune* under the caption "Peace Has Its Arnolds, Rea Answers Accusers," Mr. George Bronson Rea accuses several Japanese, including myself, of skillfully trying to deceive the American public by concealing vital facts from them. As a concrete instance in support of his assertion he quotes the Japanese denial of the existence of a National Defense Association, which was described as the author of a book entitled *A Dream Story of the War between America and Japan.*

As far as I am concerned, his accusation, I may be permitted to say, is entirely baseless. I have very carefully read and compared the book in the original with the alleged translation, and I do not hesitate to say that I stand for every word I wrote about the matter, as follows:

Latest (perhaps) is the "awful disclosures" of certain newspapers of the East, Middle West, and Pacific Coast, basely slandering Count Okuma, Baron Kato, Count Yamamoto, and the leading Japanese admirals and generals as the joint authors of a book written by a Tokio reporter and telling "a dream story of war between America and Japan." The "Japanese Bernhardi," they called it. The book is a cheap jingo affair, the publisher of which invented an organization which he called "National Military Association" as a bait to book-buyers, and named it as the author. Now, no such organization exists; the statesmen, soldiers, and sailors had, of course, nothing to do with the book. An examination of its pages showed it was a vainglorious war-story effort, but that three-fourths of the things offensive to American decency which the papers printed as quotations were fabricated in the text put forward as that of the translators, one of whom is an American who has not lived in Japan long enough to understand Japanese, and the other a Chinese. His story has lost credit, as it should, though it has in all probability served the yellow papers as material that can be "played up."

It would appear that American residents in Japan view the matter differently from Mr. Rea. The following from *The Japan Daily Mail* of December 17th is an excerpt from an address by Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, president of the American Peace Society of Japan:

To be practical there are two things that we must do and not rest on our oars, satisfied with what we have

done. First, we must apply ourselves to problems that now confront us. We have still to be even more vigilant to see that we are not misunderstood here and that our fellow countrymen at home do not misjudge Japan. And in this connection we cannot too severely condemn and deprecate the continual activity of one of our fellow countrymen, residing here, in furnishing misinformation to the papers in America, as he recently did, in pretending to give them an accurate translation of an unimportant Japanese book, with a high-sounding title, purporting to have the approval of the leading men in the government circles of Japan.

For Mr. Rea's information may I say that in my article, written December 6th and published in *The Evening Post* of December 23d, I specifically referred to the "National Defense Board" in the course of discussing the relations of the United States and Japan? It did not seem necessary to me to explain the function of the National Defense Board, which I felt sure was pretty well understood by the world at large, since there is no secret about it.

New York, Jan. 10, 1916.

# CONSPIRING TO MAKE TROUBLE WITH JAPAN

C. OHIRA

(*The N. Y. "Evening Post," November 21, 1915.*)

BALD LIES AND GROTESQUE TRIVIALITIES FABRICATED AND SPREAD ABROAD IN BOTH COUNTRIES BY MISCHIEF-MAKERS—POLICY WHICH TENDS TO BREED BAD FEELING

*To the Editor of the "Evening Post":*

SIR—It is often a matter of wonder to me how and why stories without a basis of truth, aimed obviously at the embroilment of the relations between the United States and Japan, receive lodgment and circulation in the press of the United States and sometimes in that of Japan. We have lately had the "drive" by the white newspaper people in Peking and Shanghai, intended to benefit China in the matter of getting loans from America, establishing banks, and creating Chinese shipping on the Pacific. Surely these objects would not be opposed by Japan; American bankers and business men should be allowed to

regard them as their own financial risks. By what logic these white writers in Peking and Shanghai should think their ends would be bettered by inventing stories attacking Japan, and falsely raising distrust of her in the United States, it would be hard to say. The stories have been told and have been discredited.

Last April a paragraph went the rounds that a certain Professor Sweeny, of the Pennsylvania University, had been told by a certain Japanese student named Sato that he had been ordered from Tokio to spy upon the coast defenses of this country. The president of the University, Mr. Howe, made inquiry, and Professor Sweeny denied the whole affair, so that both joined in denouncing it as a fabrication. Did the contradiction ever catch up with the original lie?

Last May a story appeared in the *Yorodzu*, a sensation-loving paper in Tokio, purporting to give details of America's warlike preparations against Japan. In October, 1914, a temporarily stranded American journalist supplied the alleged interview to the paper, whose publication of the story has long since impaired its power to influence intelligent public opinion. A supposed ex-paymaster was involved until it turned out that his existence was as baseless as his stories. It was but an incident of almost

grotesque triviality. Nevertheless it had quite a run in this country as if it had caused a great agitation in Japan, so much so that the New York *Times* made a quite lengthy comment on the matter (Part 24 of the *Times's* "History of the War").

The American people will well recall the uproar over the "Turtle Bay" incident—Japan erecting a naval base in Mexican waters, the bay swarming with Japanese warships, the surrounding land in Japanese possession. When it was known that the whole story arose from a small Japanese warship running on the mud in Turtle Bay, necessitating tugs and tackle to get her off, all the furious writing went for nothing. The United States Government laughed it out of court; yet I saw it revived several weeks ago while the *Asama*, dragged out of the mud, was limping up the coast to dock in a British Columbia port, because nowhere nearer could her crudely patched bottom be put in condition again, leaving Turtle Bay to the turtles and Mexican mudbanks. The latest story revived the old lie, pointing out how it was timed to synchronize other Japanese deviltries and be within easy striking distance of the Panama Canal! Now that story has gone down the incline with the brakes off.

Latest (perhaps) is the "awful disclosures" of certain newspapers of the East, Middle West, and

Pacific Coast, basely slandering Count Okuma, Baron Kato, Count Yamamoto, and the leading Japanese admirals and generals as the joint authors of a book written by a Tokio reporter and telling "a dream story of war between America and Japan." The "Japanese Bernhardi" they called it. The book is a cheap jingo affair, the publisher of which invented an organization which he called "National Military Association" as a bait to book-buyers, and named it as the author. Now, no such organization exists; the statesmen, soldiers, and sailors had, of course, nothing to do with the book. An examination of its pages showed it was a vain-glorious war-story effort, but that three-fourths of *the things offensive to American decency which the papers printed as quotations were fabricated in the text put forward as that of the translators*, one of whom is an American who has not lived in Japan long enough to understand Japanese, and the other a Chinese. His story has lost credit as it should, though it has in all probability served the yellow papers as material that can be "played up."

It is a fact that the intelligent public on either side of the Pacific has not been misled by such newspaper canards, and many of the lies were exposed as such by internal and external evidence. But largely due to the fact that the public is quite busy with its own

affairs and inclined to form a hasty judgment from newspaper headlines, such reckless and irresponsible stories, it cannot be denied, are loaded with potential dynamite. Keeping everlastingly at it will produce results in almost any enterprise. Since the Russo-Japanese War up to this time, countless stories of the kind have been told by mischief-makers, and unfortunately have been circulated here and there mostly by the yellow papers, but quite often even by the well-informed and respectable papers, though, no doubt, in good faith. All efforts of these mischief-makers in the past ten years have apparently proved futile, but psychologically, I am inclined to believe, from my personal experience with many Americans, they were not altogether fruitless. A sort of uneasiness, not clearly, but, I think, sub-consciously, seems to be entertained by not a small number of Americans, making them ready enough to be provoked by any move of Japan in her political progress and industrial expansion. Should the reckless campaign be left unchecked, I am afraid that unshakable bad feeling may finally be created between the two nations. It is, therefore, sincerely to be hoped that the public may take the matter into its own hands.

New York, November 21, 1915.

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